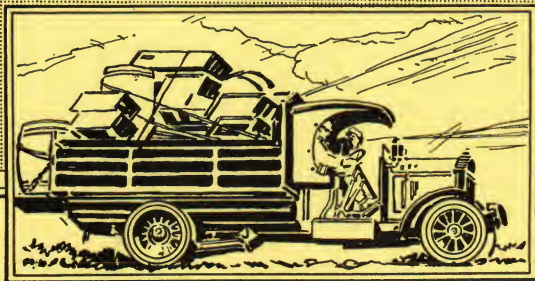
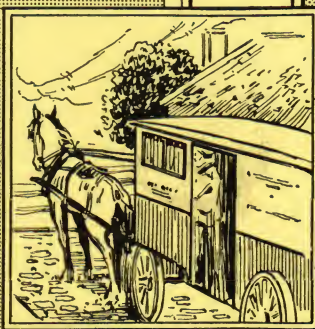
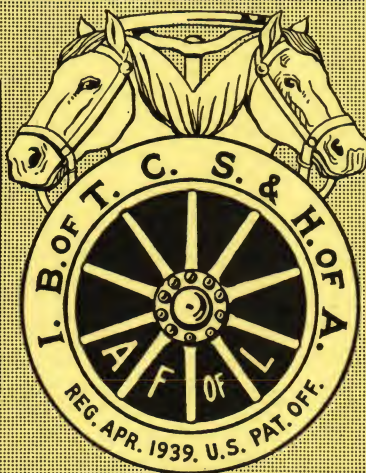


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OCTOBER, 1940

Official Magazine
**INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD
TEAMSTERS - CHAUFFEURS
STABLEMEN & HELPERS
of AMERICA**



OUR International Convention has just adjourned and as copy for the October number of our Magazine must be in the hands of our printer on the 20th of September, it will be impossible for us to publish in this issue the many actions and decisions of the convention, also the report made by General President Tobin to the convention. This report will appear in the November issue, and many of the important proceedings will be published month after month so that all of our members may have an opportunity of reading the convention proceedings.

— • —

IN THIS number you will read General President Tobin's letter to President Roosevelt tendering his resignation as Administrative Assistant and the President's answer accepting his resignation.

— • —

THE address delivered by the President of our country, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, before the delegates to our convention, is published in full. This visit of the President to our convention and his address to our delegates is the most outstanding event in the history of any labor organization in this country. Even those who heard this wonderful address over the radio will no doubt take pleasure in reading it and those of our membership who were fortunate enough to hear it delivered by the President as well as our entire membership will be pleased to have this printed copy so they may place it in their libraries or preserve it for future reference.

— • —

YOU will also see on another page of this Magazine a picture of the Cleveland Teamsters' Unions' new office building. At the dedication of the building and the banquet in the evening the principal address was made by General President Tobin, which is published in full. This is one of the most outstanding buildings of its kind in the country and is a great credit to our membership in and around the Cleveland district. Edward Murphy, who is General Organizer for the International Union, was chairman of the building committee and was kept exceptionally busy in trying to help oversee the erection of the building and its fittings and the installment of the office equipment down to the minutest detail.—J. M. G.

● OFFICIAL MAGAZINE ●

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD of TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS STABLEMEN AND HELPERS

Vol. XXXVII

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Daniel J. Tobin, Editor

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Meeting of General Executive Board at Close of Convention

Upon the adjournment of our Con-
vention, late Saturday afternoon
September 14th, it was arranged that
a meeting of the members of the Gen-
eral Executive Board should take
place on Sunday and they met again
on Monday adjourning late that eve-
ning.

Many of the matters referred to the
present Board when they were taken
up at the meeting, it was found would
require more time for discussion and
consideration than the Board could
give them at this time and were held
over to be referred to the Board at its
next meeting. There were also a num-
ber of resolutions referred by the con-
vention to the incoming Board and
these will be taken up by the Board
when it meets. Minutes in full per-
taining to the business transacted at
the above meeting of the Board will
be published in the next issue of our
Magazine.

The Board while in session ap-
pointed a committee to attend the fu-
neral of John Possehl, General Presi-
dent of the International Union of
Operating Engineers, whose death
took place on the last day of our con-
vention. The committee appointed
was General Secretary-Treasurer
Thomas L. Hughes, General Organ-
izer Thomas Farrell, Organizer Fred
Tobin, Auditor John F. English and
Acting President John M. Gillespie.
—J. M. G.



EDITORIAL



(By J. M. GILLESPIE)

BELOW we print copy of the letter to President Roosevelt which General President Tobin sent to him containing his resignation as Administrative Assistant and President Roosevelt's letter to Mr. Tobin in which he reluctantly accepts his resignation:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 23, 1940

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

Some time ago you appointed me to the position of Administrative Assistant. After considering the entire matter, and my own surroundings and responsibilities, I felt it my duty, as it would be the duty of any loyal citizen, to comply with your request. I was honored that you considered me for the appointment.

At that time there was considerable misunderstanding between the representatives of the two Labor groups, and there was a possibility of our national defense program being delayed, or seriously obstructed, unless harmony and a better understanding prevailed.

In accordance with your desires, I proceeded to establish negotiations with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, with the result that at this time there is a better feeling obtaining and most of the misunderstandings have been eliminated. Our program of national defense is going along as well as can be expected and Labor, in all of its many branches, is working together to the end that our Government may proceed with the defense preparations necessary for the proper protection of our country.

I now feel that there is another call on my services which I cannot honorably set aside.

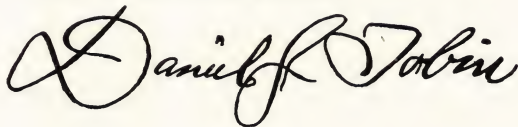
During the last two political national campaigns, 1932 and 1936, I acted as Chairman of the Labor Division of the National Democratic Campaign Committee. During those campaigns I had the cooperation, assistance and good will of nearly all of the responsible Labor leaders of our country. The record shows that there were no objections from anyone in Labor as to my actions and services in those campaigns. The toilers of the Nation almost unanimously answered our appeal, and their actions speak for themselves. Those campaigns are now history.

We are now confronted with another national campaign and election. If the enemies of Labor are successful in electing their candidates it is possible, and probable, that the toilers of the Nation may lose the advantages they have gained from humanitarian representatives and leaders in our Government. In addition to this, there is the great danger confronting the Nation as a whole, resulting from the awful, ever-threatening conflict between the nations of Europe.

Due to this condition, I have been requested by the National Chairman of the Democratic Committee to again assume the position of Labor's representative in the National Democratic campaign. I am fully conversant with this arduous work and know something of the energetic labor required, having gone through it during the two previous campaigns, but above and beyond all this, is the danger confronting Labor and the Nation. I feel, Mr. President, that I would not be true to the working people, with whom I am associated and employed, nor would I be loyal to my country, were I to refuse to serve in answer to the call referred to above.

I, therefore, earnestly, but reluctantly, request you to release me and accept my resignation as Administrative Assistant, to take effect not later than September 9, 1940.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Daniel F. Tobin". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Daniel F. Tobin".

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1940.

Dear Dan:

I have your letter of August twenty-third in which you advise me that Ed Flynn has asked you to again assume the position of labor's representative in the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee for the duration of the campaign. I have no alternative and therefore I reluctantly accept your resignation as Administrative Assistant to the President, effective September 9, 1940.

Ed's gain is my loss!

I congratulate him for securing your services. At the same time, I console myself with the knowledge that while you leave me in Washington, we shall continue, as you have so well said, "working together to the end that our government may proceed with the defense preparations necessary for the protection of our country."

You report that the program of national defense is going along as well as can be expected and labor, in all of its many branches, is working together; there is a better feeling obtaining and most of the misunderstandings have been eliminated. For this, I am most grateful and none can tell the value of the contribution you have made to your country and its government.

I will continue to count on your advice on all matters affecting labor and government, with particular relationship to national defense.

As ever yours,

Honorable Daniel J. Tobin,
Administrative Assistant to the President,
Washington, D. C.



President Tobin Presenting President Roosevelt to the Convention

PRESIDENT TOBIN: Fellow delegates, visitors and invited guests to this memorable convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

You are meeting in the Capital of our nation, in perhaps the most dangerous and crucial period in the history of our country or in the history of the world. The civilization and freedom which our ancestors fought for and suffered for, in order to preserve, is at this particular time battling for its continuance—or perhaps I should say for its very existence. Strong and powerful organizations of labor that flourished successfully a few years ago have been destroyed in many countries throughout the world, and their leadership eliminated. You have come here from every section of the country, and it will be your privilege in a few moments to listen to the man whom I believe stands forth as the greatest influence in this world of today for the continued preservation of that liberty and freedom which we, as Americans, presently enjoy. In all of my experience with leadership in public or political life, I know of no individual who has so consistently and sincerely, and at great sacrifice, fought for the betterment of the masses of the people, the working classes of the nation. During all of his public life he has consistently espoused the battle for the rights and freedom and for a better day for those who give all and receive little.

I rejoice, as your representative, to have this privilege of introducing this great world leader, this human, God-fearing emancipator of the toilers, who in recent years has insisted in striking from the bodies and souls of the workers the shackles which had strangled them and deprived them of their rights and liberties for years past. I present to you the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Address of President Roosevelt

Mr. Tobin, Members of the Convention:

During the past weeks, in several sections of the East, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of the warfare of today. Through it all there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country.

Tonight, in a very real sense, I feel as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense, equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying power in an emergency definitely call for an efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. And when I speak of a "labor force" I very definitely include those who toil in their fields as well as those who toil in industry. Teamsters will be the first to assert that farmers labor too.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. When union workers can assemble with freedom and independence in conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired—and it is symbolic of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days—days when labor unions were considered almost un-American by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding that their government—federal or state—call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the un-American practice—still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country—of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.

The cause of labor has traveled forward since those days, over a road beset with

difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made. By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 500,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon—the assurance to labor of the untrammelled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times.

The principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly adopt it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security—a foundation upon which is being built protection from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York 30 years ago this autumn, continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing state in the Union.

You will remember that kind of opposition in the campaign of four years ago when certain employers, politicians and newspapers—all of whom are now active in this campaign—in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting untrue electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to smash the new Social Security Act and force its repeal by electing its enemies.

That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who regularly for three years and eight months block labor's welfare, and then for four months loudly proclaim that they are labor's true friends—from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community, and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and poverty in his old age.

We are still, however, quite distant from the objective which we seek—the security and the high standard of living for every man, woman and child which the resources and man-power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady and sure; we have not been misled by illusory promises.

Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods—promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy—all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing

of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs, and the rationing of the bread upon their tables.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one—we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation.

It is my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old age pension which will provide adequate food, clothing and lodging to the end of the road—without having to go to the poorhouse to get it. And I look forward to a system which, in addition to this bare minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled in any occupation to build up additional security for their old age which will allow them to live in comfort and happiness.

The people must decide whether to continue the type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years—all on the plea that an adequate national defense requires it. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe, however, as I did when I said on May 26 last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in the past years. . . . There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives—conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the underprivileged."

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be measured alone in terms of mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors, or of guns or tanks or planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity. The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions still unemployed.

The employment of additional workers and the provisions for overtime payments for overtime work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times, internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel has appeared in position of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations which have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeeds of one or two of their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, to all trades and professions alike.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your convention in which he said:

" . . . It is indeed pitiful and heartbreaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type—to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the International Union."

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. Government is determined to help labor unions clean their house of those few persons who have betrayed them.

(Continued on Page 16)



Above is a picture of the building owned by the Teamsters' Local Unions in the Cleveland district that are affiliated with our International Union and where the offices of our different locals are now located and doing business. The building was dedicated on August 22, 1940, and General President Tobin delivered the following address upon being introduced by Toastmaster Rohrich:

MR. DANIEL J. TOBIN: Mr. Chairman, Representatives of the Judiciary and of the State, visitors from the different cities, great Union Officials from other organizations, Members and Representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am delighted beyond expression to have this opportunity of coming here tonight and witnessing what I have seen take place in this hall. I am particularly happy at what I have seen you have erected here, your own building, which I went through this afternoon, because it speaks louder than words of what can be done by men who are sincere and earnest and desirous of doing that which is right in the positions that they hold.

There never was a time in the history of labor and in the history of life itself, of nations, for clearer thinking, sober thinking, sincere, honest representatives, than there is now at this particular time. There isn't another country in the world in which you could find a gathering of this kind at this particular time.



The labor movement has been destroyed in every country in the world where it amounted to anything, with the exception of England and the United States, and in England the labor movement there is on the verge—and I hope I am wrong—of being destroyed by a conquering invader.

As I stand here there are many things going through my mind that it would be difficult, impossible, for me to give expression to.

When I became President of the International Union I came through Cleveland on my way from Boston 33 years ago, and we didn't have a single member of our Union in Cleveland. We had 41 members in Buffalo and that city is well represented here tonight, and in the city of Cincinnati we had 121 members, none in Akron, Columbus, or any of the other cities, a very small, weak Union in Toledo. Discouraged beyond description were the men who were working at our occupation. It was, perhaps, in the estimation of the public, the lowest kind of servitude, bordering on slavery, and when I look at the men who are here tonight, when I know what you have done, you can't realize as I realize within my mind, and my heart, the pleasure it gives me to be here present with you.

If I have done nothing else, in a small way I can look over the work in the State of Ohio that has been done since I became president, not by me but by the International

Union and what it stands for to this great state. (Applause.) And the greatest danger of men or unions or nations is when they become so strong and so powerful in their own estimation that they believe they are unconquerable. That is the danger point in men or nations.

Your International Union has now a paid-up membership of nearly half a million—500,000. I have seen it when it was struggling along with six different seceding organizations going on throughout the nation—one in Chicago, one in New York, not a member in St. Louis, and the entire western coast in a condition almost indescribable. Today there is unity prevailing everywhere. A new generation has been born; a new generation is now taking hold of the reins, and to that generation whatever I have to say tonight my remarks are directed, so that the blunders and mistakes that have been made by men and organizations and governments may not be made by them.

It was my privilege some years ago to be a guest of the party in control of the Reichstag in Berlin, Germany. I was a luncheon guest within the Reichstag, and the leader of that parliamentary body was a member of the Trade Union movement. That was in 1926. I have been across the water since then on two or three occasions. In 1938 I represented for the second time the Trade Union Movement of America in the British Trade Union Congress, and perhaps the most intelligent men, as a whole, within the organized workers of the entire civilized world could be found amongst the British leadership in the Trade Union Movement. If the government of Great Britain had followed the advice and counsel of the men of labor of England, perhaps the people of the world wouldn't have been in the dangers that now confront them.

Just exactly two years ago in that great Congress, representing four and a half or five millions of men and women, a resolution was adopted condemning the British government for its lack of courage and backbone in allowing a monster that was then beginning to trample on the peaceful nations of Europe, condemned their own government in parliamentary session for its lack of courage and it entreated by that resolution, which is a matter of record, their own parliamentary government to take action immediately before it was too late—the advice of labor of England then was ignored. The government, as our government and the government of other nations, refused to listen to labor until today that little country of forty-four and a half millions of people are at this very hour in danger of being destroyed. Every man and woman who enjoyed freedom two years ago is shivering in his home or on the battlefield, not knowing the moment that he will be called from this life to another life where he would perhaps have some form of peace or at least an ending to fear of the monster invader.

One year ago it was my privilege, on the request of our government, to attend the conference called under the auspices of the "Labor Office," which was a branch, an indirect branch, of the Treaty of the League of Nations, separated but supported by this League of Nations. There were 48 nations represented in that conference in Geneva, which met in the headquarters of the League of Nations. I spoke from the rostrum of the League of Nations, and the President of Switzerland presided. The conference was composed of the representatives of governments of those 48 nations, big and small, the representatives of capital and the representatives of labor. The honorable chairman answering some of the statements I had made, stated that it was his belief then that there was no possibility of war starting in that vicinity or in any of the bordering nations for at least a year and a half or two years. After I returned, in making my report, which you read in our Journal, I quoted those statements. On Labor Day, less than 45 days after my return to this United States and after the adjournment of this conference in Geneva, war broke out!

You know what happened. Czechoslovakia was destroyed, a great prosperous nation at peace with the world was ravaged. Poland was trampled upon. It is almost in a condition bordering on slavery, not civilization but savagery prevails. Then the peaceful nation Holland that had never committed an offense against any nation was trampled upon. Then Belgium. And then the great and powerful Republic of France.

I merely mention those things to you to show you how little even the leaders of governments know about what is going to happen. Then we have great leaders in our country, men who tell us they know what is going on, men who for political purposes, for their own selfish interests, will deceive the masses of the people as they were deceived in those countries by the leaders of government. We have men in our country following

in the same footsteps. And when anyone dares to tell the truth, his character and his intentions are attacked by malicious opponents in political life. So that men don't dare to risk telling the truth or the exact condition of affairs lest they be classed as enemies of the nation.

Why am I interested? I am interested primarily because in every country where war and destruction breaks out, it is the masses of the toilers that suffer most. Capital, of course, is destroyed, but capital is without life, without blood. It is created by human life and by blood, so that the destruction of capital, while from an economic standpoint it may be a loss temporarily, it can be reproduced, but the destruction of liberty and the destruction of myriads of human lives is difficult, if not impossible, to produce or replace in the immediate century ahead.

We have in our country freedom which we fought for, first, against a foreign oppressor, and then those that fought for that freedom had a fight within themselves in their own country to establish the freedom that the masses now enjoy. Every step that you have made forward, you men and women of the toilers, and I have tried to be as considerate and conservative during my lifetime as it was humanly possible for a man to be in my position, but every step that you have made forward, every inch of ground that you have gained, you have got by suffering and sacrifice, and through the direction and consolidation of your efforts within this organization.

I came in here to Cleveland some 25 years ago when we were beginning to start an organization, and I merely recite this incident for the purpose of educating the men that are now in our fold, and for the political leaders who are your guests this evening, all men of honor, I presume, and men who have done their share because they have seen the light. There was a strike here of milk drivers. I think you know the name of the concern. I won't mention the name, but it was the largest one in Cleveland in those days. I don't want to injure it. They are now fair to Labor. I had an organizer in here at that time. He has now passed away. He was an Englishman named Ashton. Some of you may remember him. He had worked his head off to prevent the strike, under my direction. He couldn't get anywhere. The organization was impoverished. We didn't have a dollar in our treasury to pay attorneys. There were some faithful attorneys then who took a chance they would get paid sometime or get some of what was coming to them, and I believe they did receive part of what was due them.

After many pleadings from representatives of our labor movement here, it was arranged I should meet the leading officer of this large corporation in his private office. I went there, and for two hours we talked, and I explained to him the foolishness of this mad struggle between the workers and their employers. He admitted they were men beyond reproach, that they were fathers of families, but he couldn't recognize the Union, and finally I convinced him and I pointed out to him what happened in other cities where great businesses that had been built up by years of toil by employers and by their workers had been destroyed over some little misunderstanding, and that there was nothing to gain for the corporation, nor the men, to have this unfortunate struggle going on here. People were suffering for milk. Finally, I won my point, and he called up three different individuals on the 'phone in his office in my presence, that we had both agreed the strike would be called off, that the men were to return to work within a certain number of days, and that the few points between them would be submitted to arbitration, honest arbitration, and those three gentlemen in Cleveland represented three different banks, and the answer they gave him over the 'phone was "No; under no circumstance agree to arbitration."

That was 25 years ago. I left that man with tears in his eyes. The concern went almost down and out, went almost into bankruptcy. The men found employment in other occupations. I said to him when leaving, "Such actions not by you but by the men who secretly control this corporation, who are never seen, such actions are what are driving men to deeds of desperation and some day when Labor gets in power you can't blame them if they pay you back dollar for dollar and act for act and crime for crime, if necessary." (Applause.)

In conferences in European countries it was my privilege and punishment many times to run into many leaders of the Bolshevik or Communist movement of Russia. Many of them are very brilliant men. It is difficult for us to understand them, but behind every one of their preachings which I consider impossible doctrines, because I am not

living in Russia, behind every one of their preachings was the history of persecution and murders committed on the workers of Russia for centuries by those who governed. Remember that in all ages, in all history, men are human and that you can't possibly crucify one class by another class without having the class that has been crucified pay you back in your own money and in your own manner for the cruelties that they endured. And I say this to you, that no matter who lives—it won't be in our time perhaps—the monsters that are now destroying civilization will themselves in time be destroyed by the very people that they are now attempting to destroy. (Applause.)

We have so much to be thankful for and yet we have so much discontent. Sometimes it is depressing to find many who have progressed much, entirely dissatisfied. It is a fact that no progress has been made and no victory has been won that hasn't been deserved, but it is sometimes discouraging to find men and women in our country, yes, and among the workers, who are so thoroughly forgetful of the blessings that they enjoy that they have so sense of appreciation for the freedom and the blessings that we enjoy here tonight. (Applause.)

In this beloved country of ours men can profess any religion they desire to profess. Men can belong to any political party that is within the law and there are some that are not within the law, even though the law recognizes them. No one can compel you to vote for any candidate against your wishes. That isn't true in any country but ours, outside of England, and England is on the very verge of destruction by cruel and brutal invaders.

Then we have men who are thoroughly chronic grumblers through their stupendous ignorance. I don't say that in the spirit of endeavoring to depreciate the intelligence of any man, but you can be highly educated, you can understand in your own opinion the ways of the world and still be thoroughly ignorant. When I hear men and women talk about the conditions under which they are working and finding fault, well I get discouraged when I remember the time that some of you, as I did myself, worked for 12 hours a day, winter and summer, for \$10.00 or \$11.00 a week, and I endeavored to raise five or six children on that wage and almost starved to death when I went home at night, and were it not for the training and sense of justice and God-fearing instilled into me by those who were responsible for my existence, I, too, would perhaps have been a criminal because if there is anything in the world that helps to breed criminals, it is poverty and suffering and unjust destruction of the rights of men.

Then when I hear those men—not so much in Cleveland, but there are in New York, Philadelphia and other places thoroughly dissatisfied, men and women with the conditions that they enjoy of \$40.00 a week and about 44 or 48 hours' work per week, I get discouraged and depressed.

Now I don't want men to be so thoroughly satisfied with their positions in life that they will become dormant. No. A certain sensible dissatisfaction is the foundation stone of ambition. I want men to go ahead, but in going ahead, men must be reasonable. Men must have certain consideration for the rights of others and no industry can pay more tariff than the industry can carry. There is no question so serious in life, there is no situation so grave either amongst men or nations that honest arbitration shouldn't be able to solve. (Applause.)

The other day in Washington I met a gentleman, a friend of mine from New York, that I had known for many years, a large business man with whom we are doing business, but they haven't been making as much money in recent years as they were in the good old days before the smash of 1929 and 1930. Instead of earning perhaps 25 per cent or 30 per cent for their stockholders, they have been perhaps earning 6 or 7 per cent, after taking all legitimate, and some illegitimate charges off. (Laughter.) He commenced to kick about the taxation in our country. He is a national character. He wanted to know what hope there was in the future for business, and he said, "You know, Mr. Tobin, your organization with whom we do business in New York and in several other states (he is with a national corporation), you can't expect us to continue paying the conditions that we are now paying while our stockholders are getting very little." This man was getting a salary, and I can give his name, but it isn't necessary, of \$150,000 a year. He was a very large stockholder and he is a very fair employer, as a matter of fact, just now, but it took a good many years to make him see the light. We had some little trouble with him in Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh boys may guess whom I am referring to.

He is a gentleman as the so-called "intellectuals" appraise a gentleman. (Laughter.) I like the fellow now pretty well. I said to him, "Well, your corporation tax I think is about 18½ per cent. That is your tax to the national government on your net profits before you pay your stockholders anything, but that is after all your salaries are taken out and all the other expenses, the enlargements, the additions of equipment, the repairs, and all the innumerable ways in which they can deduct from the earnings through clever manipulators and high-priced statisticians and accountants." This word "depreciation" has a meaning that you can't fully understand or fathom, and after all those charges are taken out and the salaries of all the officers are paid, then they are to give to the government 18½ per cent tax. That is \$18.50 on every \$100.00 of net profit. I think in order to protect our country from invaders that we will have to step that up a little in the next tax bill, because we can't go on doing business and building navies and armies for protection without asking those people that are able to pay from net profits to pay a little more.

I said to him, "Do you have any branch of your business in any European country?"

He said, "No."

I said, "There are several corporations in this country that have been doing a large part of their business in foreign countries. I talked to one. He is a Boston man. They have a big factory over in London. He tells me their London factory which was always the backbone of their profits, that the English taxes today on corporations, and the government steps in and doesn't always take their word as to legitimate expenses, doesn't monkey around with the British government in their tax bills like they do with the American government, and their taxes in England now are almost 73 per cent of their net profits." And still we have large American employers finding fault with this government of ours. It doesn't make any difference whether it is a Democratic or Republican administration, they will find fault anyway just as soon as you ask them to support this country by paying for its defenses in order to protect their capital and our free institutions.

I asked him if he knew what happened to property on the other side of the water. He said, yes, he had some idea. This is a college man, a brilliant man. I said, "Do you know in Germany every dollar every employer owns in his property is turned in to the government and then the government of Germany gives them whatever they like to give them back?" He didn't think it was quite as bad as that. I said, "Did you know if you were doing business within the confines of Germany you couldn't take one dollar out of that in any profits you make?" He didn't know that, a high-class business man. I said, "Did you know that in every country that Germany has conquered it has taken all the rights of business away? That includes the wealthy and prosperous Czechoslovakia that shipped its manufactured products to nearly every country in the world. That means Poland. All the industry of Holland has been taken over." I said, "Did you know that England is very liable to be in the same condition, and still you kick because this government of ours asks you this year to pay \$18.50 on every \$100.00 net profits that your concern makes, after deducting all and every expense and charge!"

Now this is what we are confronted with in this country—purely selfish interests. The dollar is God with many.

The labor movement of England is perhaps the strongest organization of labor in the world. They are a compact little nation, and they were organized for many years ahead of us, way back in the early fifties. They have a strong labor movement in England. You might very well call it the mother country of this country. Numerically, the labor movement before the World War, so-called, in Germany had the largest number of members, but they were political members as well as Trade Unionists. They had about 6,000,000 members at their highest point when Carl Legien was President of the Confederation of Labor of Germany. Then they went down to almost nothing, as the result of the war, and the Socialist Party, of course, was destroyed at that time. It was the direct Socialist Party founded directly on the doctrines of Karl Marx. It is entirely a different Socialist party there now.

The British Trade Union Movement went up to about five million, their highest point. That was England, Scotland, Wales, and a part of their organization in Ireland. The American labor movement at this particular time had close to eight million organized workers.

The first thing that was done (if you will read anything of the history of Hitler and his associates, Goering and others) was to destroy the labor movement of Germany by

first destroying their leaders. I had many very close friends in the German labor leadership. Every one of them has been either killed or destroyed secretly, put in concentration camps for two or three years and then gradually obliterated and exterminated, and no account given of them.

Immediately upon the destruction of the labor organizations, capital and industry was taken hold of and every business man in Germany was told he had to work directly under the orders of the government. Without desiring to repeat what I said before, you know what has happened. There is no more chance for a business man in Germany to run his business. He has got to run it to suit others, he has got to show efficiency, expediency, and a well-managed institution or he is eliminated, but in the financial end of his business he has nothing to do with prices. He has nothing to do with profits. The government does that.

The same thing, only a worse condition, will now prevail in France.

Now we come back again to England, the last battle ground between ourselves and perhaps entanglements of a nature I don't desire to mention. In the last World War England had in many of its labor leaders 20 years ago what were called pacifists. As a matter of fact, Ramsay MacDonald was a pacifist, and the sailors of Great Britain went on strike rather than man a ship to take McDonald from England to Russia to attend a conference which had then been called by Trotsky, the man who was assassinated yesterday, and Lenin. Lenin was the top man. Trotsky and Stalin were the two very willing accomplices that were used to do the outside work. Stalin got the inner circle on Trotsky and as a result of that, he exterminated him first by driving him out. But Ramsay MacDonald before he became Prime Minister of England was a pacifist in the last World War. So was Ernest Bevin, the man who is now the top man in the British government, next to perhaps Prime Minister Churchill. I met Bevin in 1915 in San Francisco in the Sutter Hotel, and I very well remember what he said there. "Today the British Trade Unionists so thoroughly realize the danger confronting the masses of the workers that almost as a unit they are behind the government and nearly \$280,000,000 of their money and properties has been given to the government without any interest charge in order to help to save the country against the oppressor." I merely mention this to you men of labor to bring you some realization of the dangers confronting the men and women who work in the last country that has any semblance of freedom—England—outside of our own.

There is such a thing as abusing liberty. Many won't agree with me in that, but there is such a thing as abusing the privileges of liberty. Ninety-nine and a half per cent of our people are law abiding. I mean all classes of Americans. There is just about one-half of one per cent that are criminally wrong, and they are enemies of the nation. Of course, those that are spreading dissension and trouble and endeavoring to undermine our structure of solidarity not only in the labor movement but in our governmental institutions, are dangerous criminals and it is pitiful to find that either states or the nation itself should allow them to continue.

The honesty necessary to maintain liberty has increased almost 100 per cent within late years in governmental affairs. The same is true in the labor movement. Let me say this to you, that unless men who represent the people, also the chosen representatives of labor, those men in whom the masses have placed their confidence, play the game squarely and honestly, they don't belong in the labor movement, and that goes for the political leaders of the nation. (Applause.)

The monument you have erected up here is a living example of the decency and honesty and the square dealing of the representatives of our labor movement here in Cleveland and especially to our Teamsters' movement. That is the best example that I can point to.

Sometimes we receive some unfair publicity. Well, we can't help that. The price you pay for being of some value to the human race is the price of criticism, unjust condemnation by a small minority. The price you receive is the good that you do—the blessings and the peacefulness and the helpfulness you bring to those you represent.

Racketeers—if there is one unfortunate, degenerate creature that does wrong within our organization in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, or Detroit, his name is listed from coast to coast by well-paid Communists who are controlled by capital, capital that controls publicity. For the 99½ per cent of the men that struggle, that sacrifice every-

thing they have in public life, and especially in the labor movement, not one word is said in praise of their efforts. That is the price we pay. But not only have we driven out the racketeers from the labor movement; we are going to drive them out of the political movement, because their day has ended. The people have awakened. Employers can post notices now in their factories telling their men how to vote, but it has no effect on the voters. That day is done. There is freedom in the exercising of your rights in the ballot box and the end has come for dishonest men within the judiciary or within the halls of Congress. We are going to clean up the labor movement, as we are asked to do, and as God knows we have done and will continue to do. Let's also clean out the wrongdoers of the other branches of society that are a menace to the freedom of the nation.

I don't need to refer to the unfortunate exposures made by a certain prosecuting attorney in the city of New York about criminals that never belonged in the movement, but got into the movement through subterfuge and through collaboration with crooked employers. I don't need to refer to them. They have been publicized and been incarcerated. But may I call your attention to the criminals in political life and to men who were tops in both the federal and state judiciary that have also been found guilty of the most base kinds of crime.

Two wrongs don't make a right. Our duty is to do our work as we are expected to do it, clean, representing our people honestly, fighting a just battle to the last ditch, but not creating a fight or not looking for a fight, and avoiding a conflict as much as it is humanly possible to avoid it.

I am very happy to have lived to witness what I have seen here tonight. I don't know any employer in the city of Cleveland that would go back to the old days of drudgery that was the case of their employees some 25 or 30 years ago. Not long ago I attended a dinner in the Palmer House given by the large employers of Chicago to some of our representatives. We have close to 50,000 members in and around a radius of 50 miles from the center of Chicago, and I heard some employers say—and they are big men—they are making more money than the employers where there is no organization—I have had them say to me: "Mr. Tobin, if it was within our power, but it isn't, to destroy this Union of yours tomorrow, we would vote unanimously not to destroy it because of the good that it has done, not only for the men but for ourselves, the employers."

Looking over this crowd here tonight, what a revelation! By raising the conditions of a man in his home and his family, you have raised the general conditions of society. I remember the time in the city of Boston, and it is true of Cleveland, that a man that was a truck driver or a teamster that wasn't 99 per cent drunk on Saturday night wasn't a regular fellow. He wasn't considered a regular driver. I was kicked around because the few nickels I got I needed for other reasons, and I didn't belong and I didn't have the constitution or perhaps the inclination or the finances to go along. But it was a part of the equipment of the city of Chicago that every teamster carried a can underneath the tail end of his wagon, a beer can. If I went to a meeting, the meetings were held, in many instances in New York and Chicago, over saloons. The saloonkeeper gave them a hall free in order to get their hard-earned nickels for beer after or before the meeting. That was the condition under which our people were when we started to organize them. Well, if we find a man today driving a truck in any form of intoxication, we say to the employer that he is justified in discharging him. Not only is the man's life in danger, but the lives of the public are in danger.

I don't do much advertising because that isn't my job, but if any of you have a chance to see that picture, "We Drive at Night," it is only a small example of the sufferings of the unorganized drivers at night. Go and see it if you can. You have seen those drivers falling asleep on their trucks because of the awful conditions under which they work. George Raft sat in the seat and played the principal part, but our Union truck drivers in Hollywood, 1100 of them, were helpful in making that picture, 1100 organized truck drivers within the city of Hollywood engaged entirely in the moving picture industry.

But when we went before the Interstate Commerce Commission in order to try to hold the hours of labor within 48, and mind you, men, the Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that a truck driver under the law can or must, or is permitted, to work 60 hours a week, while the federal government and everybody else is talking about 40

or 44 hours. The Interstate Commerce Commission—something similar to the old make-up of the Supreme Court, in many instances antiquated—decided that truck drivers should and could within the law work 60 hours a week. We had men testify that were driving, that in order to keep awake on these runs between Chicago and Buffalo or Rochester or New York, they had to take drugs to keep awake. Imagine those poor devils of drivers paralyzed with sleep, having to take drugs to keep awake. That evidence was given under oath. You will get a sample of that under the individuals unorganized, which Raft represented in this picture, "We Drive at Night." We are eliminating that. We are not only protecting the lives of our membership, but we are protecting the lives of the public against the danger that would be inflicted upon the public by unscrupulous employers working in collusion with political office holders of influence.

The great service we are rendering society is not appreciated. We don't expect it to be. 'We are rendering service to ourselves and our families and to the communities in which we live. We are rendering service to other workers, and I want you to realize that that advancement that you have made through education and patience, through organization, you must guard and protect because one serious mistake, one act of the rabble leading you into unlawful acts, like creating dissension within you, might destroy the work and the good that you have accomplished.

I congratulate you tonight on the great things you have done. We have helped from the national office all we could, but without your help we couldn't have succeeded either, but I congratulate you now, bringing some form of what you have done to our other membership throughout the nation as a beacon light of encouragement to guide them on to great things, and try to duplicate the great things you have done here. But the greatest thing of all to my mind that you have accomplished, regardless of your finances, regardless of that beautiful building you have erected from your humble, honest savings within your Union, the greatest thing of all you have done is the fact that in this city of Cleveland and in the State of Ohio at this time, with very close to 40,000 members in our organization throughout the state, there isn't at this time, to my knowledge, one man on strike within the confines of the State of Ohio that I know of. (Applause.) And that act of yours in educating your employers, in convincing them of the justice of your position and educating the legislators, the men who are in charge of governmental affairs, as to the fairness, the decency, and the uprightness of your membership in your organization, that act of yours alone in keeping the wheels rolling without a stoppage, bringing in your week's salary, that is greater work than even the erection of a half dozen buildings within your city. Keep up this work. Go on, but go on within the law, always understanding that you are not all-powerful, that when you begin to abuse your power then you are weakening.

Always have a just consideration for the rights of others. Keep within the law, and by doing that you will make greater advancement, greater achievements, greater victories as time goes on.

. . . The assemblage arose and applauded . . .

(Continued from Page 7)

In this great crisis has come proof that organized labor, as well as all other groups of our citizens, is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor to serve, and have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of their government. From the very start, representatives of labor, including your own distinguished President, have shared in formulating and administering the program. I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A. F. L., the C. I. O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally co-operating in this effort with the National Defense Commission and with the Army and Navy. This co-operation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share. This applies both to those who train in the fighting forces and to the forces of workers behind the lines.

It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just so long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service which they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding, and I know will continue to respond.

The nation, through its elected representatives, is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, no reasonable person can object to giving the Government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property which is necessary for its proper functioning.

The overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements are now manufactured by private enterprise under private management. We continue that process. It is only in the rare, isolated case that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with his Government in a fair way.

But if and when such case does arise, the Government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above its Government; and Government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above its Government.

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread at election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world the best defense is the strongest preparedness—fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines. Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That is no longer theory; it is a proven fact—proved in the past year.

I hate war now more than ever: I have one supreme determination—to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, upon the platform adopted in Chicago:

"We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

Let us have an end to the sort of appeasement which seeks to keep us helpless by playing on fear and by indirect sabotage of all the progress we are making. "Appeasement" is a polite word for misdirected partisanship. In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed—and you teamsters know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known. Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the majority will of our people to make America strong—and to keep it free.

PRESIDENT TOBIN's statement to the convention when President Roosevelt finished his address: Before you go away tonight I want to say this: No matter what struggles I have had in life, no matter what privations I have suffered, no matter what doubts were in my mind, in all the years of our struggling together, your conduct and your appearance here tonight, your actions and your sincere appreciation of the President has paid me back a thousandfold for anything I have ever endured. (Tremendous applause.)

IT IS almost impossible to find words that would fully describe the reception tendered the President by the delegates to our convention and the close attention and enthusiasm displayed by them as the different points in his address were brought out. When it became known that the President was to address our convention we received requests for admission to our convention hall from practically every member of the United States Congress and from many of our friends in Washington. Others unknown to us made similar requests but owing to the seriousness of the situation surrounding our country and especially our President we felt we should be extremely careful and as all available space was taken up we were unable to grant their requests, so that only international officers, our visitors and members were allowed inside the hall. In reading the proceedings of this session of our convention you cannot help but notice the exceedingly fine presentation of the President made by President Tobin to our delegates and visitors.

WE WISH also to bring to the attention of our general membership the fact that during the afternoon session on Wednesday, prior to the delivery of the President's address on that evening, his candidacy for third term as President of the United States was unanimously endorsed by all of our delegates.

This in itself was a wonderful endorsement, especially when it is taken into consideration that there were men among our delegates who do not belong to the President's political party, but they all endorsed him as the greatest President we have ever had as well as the greatest friend Labor has ever had. After the President had finished his address and was leaving the hall he turned to President Tobin and stated that of all the meetings or gatherings which he ever attended during his life this one was the most inspiring and encouraging it had ever been his pleasure to address. We are also satisfied there were thousands of persons, or perhaps millions, who never before knew much about our organization, but they learned a great deal about it that night and have since made many inquiries about the organization and its work.—J. M. G.

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